RED & BLACK

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liberty without socialism is privelege, injustice;
socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality.
MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

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ANTONIO (TONY) JIMENEZ

Life is a unique conscious experience of great magnitude, but a short circle that ends in death: a facet of Nature, a metamorphosis of existence. But our conceptualization and intellectualization of human beings makes of death a tragic event rather than an event within which life acquires its meaning. In fact death is the burden for those who are left behind, a problem for those who are alive and who have lost their beloved. The reality of death is the cold, cruel and implacable truth that the eternal sun sets on everyone who happens to be born and no heavens, hells or religious rituals can alter this unpalatable fact. One can indulge in poetical ecstasies of permanent bliss or punishment, depending on which side of the fence one finds him/herself, but the Human Odyssey is a finite act as it is for all other animals.

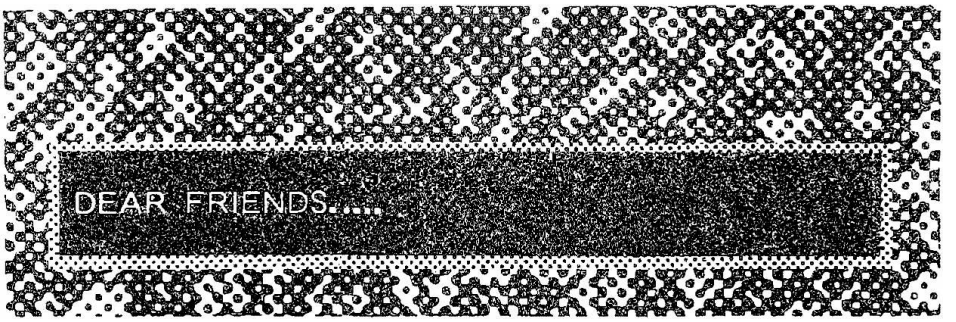
Nonetheless, it is a sad actualization of irrevocable separation, the realization that comrades are not among us. And Tony was a comrade, an intimate friend, an ardent anarchist, an individual who synthesized and mirrored libertarian reality. Excellent debator, uncompromizing militant, he hated dogma and in his chest palpitated a great generous heart ebullient with energy and love. His house was a meeting place where everyone was welcome. Therefore, although death is a bitter cup of oblivion, Tony will not be forgotten.

Like Joe Hill, he will be with us, "as large as life", in our anarchist activities, in struggles and debates for social liberation or personal realization, for libertarian association or anarchist organization. He will live in the heart of many who within themselves carry the beauty of the anarchist ideals, and the new world of freedom, equality and social justice, if you like - the anarchist utopia.

To Vicky, Glenn and Alan, for their sorrow: my solidarity. Do not mourn but live a life of full potentiality as Tony did before he was robbed of it at 55.

Well Tony, the ashes of your spirit will continue to fertilize my thought, and I hope the thought of many others, and your image will inspire my anarchist ventures. And when the last Sunset strikes at my life then we will die in solidarity and our ashes will carry our spent love for anarchy.

Jack.



DEAR SOCIALIST SISTER

Some time ago, in your youthful enthusiasm for social change, you referred to me as a reactionary because I dared to question your brand of socialism. Now, as then, I am still defending socialism. Paradoxically, when the reaction is triumphant, when political scientists and analysts, journalists, economists and radicals are competing to declare socialism defunct, to glorify the sunset of an era, the end of communism, it is again I that defend socialism. I, who in 60's gave a paper entitled: The Failure of Socialism, part of which was printed in Red and Black No3, 1967. There I stated:

> Everywhere the socialist movement is in ruins. The great revolutionary army which, according to the theorists, was to overrun and overthrow the capitalist empires and lay the foundations of the new social order, is defeated, discouraged and dispersed. The revolution that was just arround the corner, has never materialized. The socialists who consulted the Oracle, who saw the aigns in heavens, moon and stars, are dead
> Capitalism remains; challenged everywhere but thriving. That capitalism which the socialist theorists of fifty years ago claimed was declining and about to give way to the new society.

The socialism, my dear sister that you, Kings, Kaisers and commissars referred to is a Pharaoh-dom of Bolshevism, bureaucratic State capitalism, cemented by the blood and bones of peasants, workers and revolutionaries. Genuine socialism was killed at its inception by Marxist-Leninist adventurists, who seized the factories from the workers, land from the peasants, established the dictatorship over the proletariat and introduced the despotic reign of the new exploiters - the vanguard of the proletariat. Opposition was liquidated. Prisons, exiles, concentration camps and

execution squads greeted revolutionaries. The Thermidor was established by Lenin and Trotsky, whilist Stalinism was its logical growth. A practice comfascism was inaugurated that drowned all revolutionary and socialist possibilities. It was the revolutionaries themselves who first raised the alarm that socialism was in its death throes.

> The Workers' Russia, the first to raise the red flag of the emancipation of labour is drowned in the blood of the martyrs for the great glory of Communist rule. With it are drown all the great and beautiful promises and possibilities of the proletarian revolution (Kronstadt' Izvestia No5, March 7th, 1921.

The Kronstadters, Makhnovists, the Left Social Revolutionaries and many others knew what kind of socialism had been coined by the Bolsheviks: Social-Fascism. Not, however, the Communists, the new ascending bourgeoisie nor the Western Bourgeois who needed the spectre of communism to subdue and pacify the masses.

The Bolsheviks were mainly interested in power and to gain it they declare themselves the avant-garde of the proletariat, the proletariat they wanted to crush. For their theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the theory of the dictatorship of the party over the proletariat; of the dictatorship of a select minority over the "backward majority"; of the enlightened few over the mass of ignorance. After all, without self-appointed elites, Marxists-Leninists, the proletariat cannot have a consciousness of its own.

> They cannot accomplish their own liberation. Their minds are formed by their masters; they are incapapable of understanding their true interests. It is left to the knowing minority fo free the masses from the tutelage of its present masters. Only after this is done will the masses understand. Scientific socialism is the truth. The minority possessing the knowledge of the truth of scientific socialism has the right to impose it on the mass (Charles Naine: Dictature du proletariat ou democratie p.7.

Thus "All Power to the Soviets" meant "All Power to the Bolsheviks" and then "All Power to Lenin", and by extension "All Power to red Bonapart -Stalin". This practice did not contravene the platform of Soviet Social Democracy.

> The Soviet Social Democracy is in no way inconsistent with the rule and dictatorship of one person; that the will of class is at times best realized by a dictator who sometimes will accomplish more by himself and is frequently more needed. At any rate, the principal relation toward one person rule was not only explained a long time ago but also decided by the Central Executive Committee (Lenin, Col. Wirks, vol.17,p.89 First Russian Ed.)

To be more deceptive, manipulative, successful and to seduce the masses, Lenin tore off his social democratic attire and put on the shirt of communism. His road to absolute power was succinctly dialectical, as Maximov observed:

> A Workers' State, to be realized via All Russian Commune; an absolute dictatorship, via absolute freedom; centralization via federalism; nationalization -that is State monopoly -via socialization; terror via agitation and propaganda
> and may I add: Communism via Fascism

But to achieve his hegemony and silence the voice of the revolution the terror of public opinion alone was not sufficient unless it was supplemented by the Guillotine which decapitated the flower of the Revolution.

> In my opinion, com. Kursky, it is necessary to extend the application by execution by shooting...to all phases covering the activities of Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and the like: a formula must be found that would place these activities in connection with the international bourgeoisie and its struggle against us (bribery of the press and agents, war preparation and like). Lenin.

Bolshevism, my dear sister, has been the Thermidorian reaction againt the reason of the revolution itself:

> Soviet State shows a tendency toward intensified centralism of the State, a tendency toward the utmost possible strengthening of the principle of hierarchy and compulstion. It shows a tendency toward the development of a more specialized apparatus of repression than before.(J.Martov)

It shuns the organized initiative of the proletariat, prefer terror to debate, gallows -to revolutionary experiments, bureaucracy to proletariat. Bolshevis set themselves to Germanize the proletariat:

> We learn about State capitalism from the Germans, to assimilate their methods, not to spare any dictatorial methods in order to accelerate the westernization of barbarious Russia(Lenin).

Westernization that has cost Russia rivers of blood, which has plunged the Soviet Republics into third world country status and into a barbarism that even the old regime did not visualize.

These are the unpalatable facts of Bolshevik communism, a socialism subordinated to the hegemony of the Party which is not socialist less so communist. Commuunism here performs an ideological role to mystify the masses to rationalize their oppression, to eliminate all opposition within and without the Party, and to make capitalist development effective under the guise of social-democratic praxis; in fact to reassert the capitalist State and to destroy all potential revolutionary arsenals that may eventually lead to workers' emancipation. Bolshevism, paradoxically as it may sound, became the grave-digger of authentic communism and the saviour of capitalism.

Capitalism, to regain the ground lost after the W.W.I., needed Bolshevism. It used the spectre of communism to unite the bourgeoisie with Social Democracy and engender the right wing avant-garde putsch: national-socialist-fascist movements. The same catch-phrase was used after the W.W.II. to rationalize U.S.A. expansionist policy and its ruthless interference in the affairs of other countries. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks needed Capitalism to consolidate their own power and to justify the terror they unleashed over the masses. Those who raised their voices against the Holy Trinity of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin and who opposed their atrocities, tactics, and policies were called agents and lackeys of capitalism. Finally Bolshevism succumbing to its own contradictions and the weight of its "metaphysics, abstractions and platitudes" tore off the veil of communism and donned the more suitable conformist, reformist and reactionary ethico-political attire of the revisionist Bernstein and the renegade Kautsky. Bolshevism has fulfilled its historical mission: it saved Capitalism and destroyed communism and the revolution.

Socialism, as I have mentioned before, was killed at the inception of the Revolution by faked socialists, the Bolsheviks, whose single aim was to capture the State. Since the State is an expression of the ruling classes, since the world is governed by the rich and the powerful it follows that science, philosophy and ethics under the auspice of the State will serve the ruling classes. The

Marxist-Leninist State is not an exception in this case. Armed with the tools of "Scientific Socialism" it effectively reduced the proletarian resistance to the bourgeoisie, militarized labour, enriched those in power and further impoverished the poor. The proletariat was reduced to pauperism by the Bolshevik machinery rather than being liberated. But as Marx said: "The political instrument of their (proletarian) enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation." (Civil War in France).

In short, genuine socialism according to which the means of production and distribution are in the hands of Society, where the common wealth is equally shared by its members, where the decision making process is in the hands of the people, has never existed in the Soviet Communist Republics and, therefore, what has not existed, can neither die nor fail. What has died and failed is the left wing bourgeoisie, Bolshevism, hiding behind the mask of communism, a centralist bureaucratic form of organization that has never believed in the subject of the revolution, the proletariat. Thus the Socialism that has failed, my Sister, has been a Socialism that has never been. It has been the embalmed corpse of Bolshevik communism.

Yours Jack.

Without Social Revolution

there is no Future

ELISE RECLUS

Elise Reclus was born at Sainte-Fey-la Grande in Gironde in 1830. Son of a protestant pastor and second son of 12 brothers.

With his brother Elie he went to study in Germany in the Protestant Institute of Moravi Brothers. It was, however, Prof. Ritter at Berlin University who turned his attention to ecological problems and under his influence Elise Reclus became an ecologist of great dimensions who has yet to be recognized.

His interest in socialism and anarchism forced him to take the road to exile after the Bonapart's coup d'etat in 1851. He travelled to the United States and other parts of America and returned back to France after the amnesty in 1857.

He dedicated his life to writing and in 1867-68 his book: The Earth, a description of the phenomena of life on the Globe (La terre, description des phenomenes de la vie du globe) appeared. Despite being involved in geographical studies he, nontheless, was interested in social and political issues and took the side of Bakunin, whom he met in Switzerland.

In the Franco-Prussian war, he committed the same mistake as Kropotkin later on, and took the side of France. Nevertheless, as soon as the proletariat of Paris rebelled he took the side of the Paris Commune and actively participated in it. The Versaille troops took him prisoner and, like many other communards who were mercilessly slaughtered by the law and order of Thiers, he was going to be shot too. A world wide protest saved his life and he was exiled again in 1872.

He established himself in Switzerland and while continuing his geographical studies he, also, was actively involved in anarchist propaganda. After 1884 he went Brussels, took a teaching job and was one of the founders of The International Workers Alliance. There he completed his New Universal Geography (Nouvelle Geographie Universelle) of 19 volumes and afterwards began to work on another important book, Man and the Earth, which appeared posthumously in 1905-6. Elise died on the fifth of July 1905. We may say that he is one of the founders of the modern science today

referred to as ecology. The fact that he has remained in obscurity is because official geography does not recognize revolution in science and even less so unpalatable truths about the bourgeois-capitalist world's approach to the earth.

According to Reclus man moulds the earth according to his own image. He impresses on it his own intellectual concepts, visions, prejudices and orientations. A reified and commodified person sees the earth as an object, as a commodity, as a thing to be used, exploited, misused and disposed. A free person, on the other hand, tries to understand the earth and to extract as many benefits as possible, but without trying to dominate it, because he sees himself not apart but as a part of the nature within which he lives and functions. He realizes that it is for his own sake that his intellect and heart have to be in unison with nature if the equation between him and physical reality is to be established. An equation which is beneficial for both: man as a subject and earth as an object; man as an object and earth as a subject.

The bourgeois-capitalist person who brutalizes nature, who turns rivers into carriers of death, decimates trees, turns fields into deserts and poisons seas is a brute , an aggressor and an arrogant individual. He considers himse lf above nature and therefore to dominate, subjugate, conquer, exploit and rape it is a logical consequence of his hierarchical perceptions and his capitalist mentality. His society is violent and unjust and no redemptive features can be seen in it. Elise Reclus proposes a different approach to nature which also implies a different social order.

Unless we act ecologically and see ourselves as equal to the objects we relate to; unless we appreciate nature in its diversified forms as essential aspects of our own existence then there is no hope of salvation, and society will plunge into an era of barbarism and self-destruction. Reclus brilliantly captured the ecological significance of human existence which is not only passive and contemplative but also an active factor, a conscious effort based on knowledge, poetical vision and human equality which makes us free. As he said, the planet will never be in complete harmony if people are not basically united in "a concert with justice and peace. Let the children of the earth embrace one another and finally build the great federation of free people". Either that or darkness and barbarism. Perhaps the words I use are strong but there is a portent in his writings. I give the word to him.

RECLUS ON THE EARTH

Man's great efforts to drain marshes and lakes, to overcome natural obstacles, to modify the distribution of plant and animal species is, in itself, a fact of decisive importance in the transformation of the planet. It can beautify the earth as well as make it ugly. Depending on the social awareness and customs of each people, nature is either degraded or elevated. Man moulds to his own image the country he inhabits. The barbarian, after centuries of brutal exploitation, had given the earth a ferocious, brutal aspect whereas the civilized person, by intelligent cultivation, can make it radiate with grace, so to speak, in such a manner that the stranger who passes feels gently accepted and relaxes with confidence on its bosom.

Camping, as a passer by, the barbarian has plundered the soil, exploited it with violence and, lacking culture and intelligence, has not recompensated her for the richness he has seized from her. He completely devastated and made uninhabitable the country which had served him as a home. The surface of the earth witnesses many examples of these merciless devastations. In many places man has transformed his homeland into deserts and "grass does not grow any longer where he puts his feet". A great part of Persia, Mesopatamia, Idumaea and various countries of Asia Minor and Arabia where "milk and honey" used to flow, and which supported considerable populations, are quite unproductive now and are inhabited by destitute tribes living on pillage and rudimentary agriculture. Perhaps the climate has changed due to geological causes as M. Oscar Fraas thinks, but man has to a great extent contributed to the transformation of the fields i deserts. We see in our days how the Turks, who own land and have leisure, know how to apply grace in their gardening whereas the Greeks, and other christians of the Orient, being enslaved for a long time have not appreciated nature and have exploited it mercilessly.(1) "Who kills a tree kills a Serb" used to say the proud Slavs along the Danube river, but they too are clearing the land.

When the power of Rome yielded to the barbarians, Italy and neighbouring provinces ruined by the crude cultivation of the land by slaves, had changed into a desert and even

in these days, after nearly two thousand years of the land lying fallow, vast tracts of land the Etruscans and Sicules once cultivated are still barren or unhealthy marshes. Causes similar to those that led to the weakening and death of the Roman Empire are at work in the New World leading to the loss of a considerable part of its arable land - such as Carolina and Alabama created at the expense of virgin forests. In less than half a century the plantations of Carolina and Alabama have become unproductive and are now the domain of deer. In Brasil and Columbia, once among the most fertile countries in the world, it has taken only a few years to exhaust the soil - that is real plunder. Trees are burnt in order to sow maize in the ashes, then the seed-bed is continually over-worked until a thicket of shrubs strangles it. Then they burn a second time to sow the maize again. Then bracken and a sticky, fetid grass, called capim gordura, take over. The soil is lost.

What factors contributed to the beauty or degradation of nature, perhaps, is a futile question to the so-called unsentimental soul but, nonetheless, it is of prime importance. The development of humanity is intimately tied to the natural environment. A hidden harmony exists between the earth and the peolple it supports and when imprudent societies strike a blow at what is beautiful in their domain they have always been sorry for it. There, where the land turns to ugliness, where poetry - all poetry - disappears, imaginations are enslaved, the spirits empoverished and servility seizes upon the souls and predisposes them to torpor and death.

Among the causes in human history that have led to the disappearance of many civilizations we ought to mention the brutal violence with which the majority of people related to the land they lived on. They cut trees, dried up springs, flooded rivers, damaged the climate and surrounded the cities with swampy and pestilential zones; then when profaned nature became hostile to them they hated it and, not being able to retreat like the savages to the woods, they let themselves be more and more brutal in their despotism. Shocked by the surprising decadence of Spain after Charles the Fifth, historians try to explain it in various ways. To some the main cause of this ruin was to be found in the discovery of American gold; for others, it was the religious terror organized by the Inquisition: the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors and the bloody auto-da--fe of heretics. For others it was the iniquitous alcabala and the despotic, a la French, centralization. But the brutality with which the Spaniards cut the trees for feer of the birds, "por miedo de los pajaritos", has some effect on that decadence. The land yellow, rocky and bare took on a repulsive and fearsome aspect, the soil became impover-

ished and during two centuries the diminishing population partially relapsed into barbarism. The little birds had their revenge.

Even today in the most advanced countries many human activities have unfortunately resulted in the empoverishment of the soil and the ugliness of nature. Humanity as a whole has not yet emerged from its primitive barbarism. Taking into account the kind of cultures, varieties of climate, diversity of customs and national characteristics, the process of deterioration takes different aspects among different people. Arabs, Spaniards and American-Spaniards cut down trees and let the land dry and turn yellow in the sun; Italians and Germans mutilate shamelessly what trees are left and give them an appearance of stakes and brooms; the French divide their terrain into innumerable plots producing different crops which from a distance appear a multicoloured drappery on the land. In the United States the terrain is cut geometrically, all equally oriented and uniformed, despite the undulations and the projections of the surface. Finally, the owners of land, from the small holders to big landowners, surround their properties with defence walls and trenches as if they are threatened fortresses. .Even the Irish, the poorest of all, fence their small gardens full of weeds with a high rampart of earth. In how many European countries, travelling for hours, can the glance of the artist rest with satisfaction?

Yet, a few trees and a little bit of taste in the arrangement of plants are sufficent for the beauty to reappear in the middle of this degraded nature.

It is not only the "hard labourer", jealous of his hereditary boundaries and above all desirous of obtaining an abundant crop, who works towards degrading the earth, but those who profess to admire nature also systematically degrade the most beautiful sites. In the outskirts of towns the would-be country fields, carved into enclosures, are nothing but lots with pruned shrubs and clusters of flowers to be seen through grills. Numerous small Italian and German principalities, corrupted by a foolish sentimentalism, have damaged the most charming landscapes by engraving pedantic inscriptions on rocks, by decorating lawns with monuments of fantasies and having guards on duty to point out to visitors the sites they are supposed to see. A great number of well-to-do bourgeois in their paltry love of baroque and symmetry have reached the point where they repress the sap in the trunks in order to create dwarf varieties and to give the foliage geometrical forms and an odd appearance of monsters and demons. The wealthy Dutch merchants of the last century wanted all the lime trees in their avenues painted white, and had heads carved in

spherical forms. The trees of Brouck are still painted in oil and white of zinc. The gardeners of the emperor Yang-Ty replaced the flowers and leaves which fell off the trees with artificial foliage and flowers of silk impregnated with perfumes to make the illusion more complete(2).

And how is Great Nature perceived? Besides mountains such as Gibraltar, Lichtenstein and Feustrelle where, for military purposes, governments spend hundreds of millions to make them ugly, picturesque cliffs and charming beaches in many places are monopolized by greedy owners and speculators who appreciate natural beauty as much as money-changers evaluate an ingot of gold. In easily accessible mountainous places the same madness of appropriation seizes the inhabitants and the landscape is cut into squares and sold to the highest bidder; each natural curioisity: a crag, grotto, cascade, cleft of a glacier, everything including the sound of the echo can become private property. Contractors lease cascades, surround the by barricades to prevent the traveller who does not pay from enjoying the tumult of the waters, then, by dint of advertizing, they transform into solid cash the light which dances in the shattered drops and the breath of the wind through the swirls of the spray. It is not without deep bitterness that the traveller compares Niagara, as man made, to the old "thunder of waters" as nature has given it to us. Ugly constructions, factories, hotels and stores are erected at the cliffs. "Advertisers" exploiting the beauty of Niagara in order to sell their commodities and drugs, have put their foul and lying posters in front of the radiant waterfall; other, yet more unpleasant industries, pretend to add some poetic touch to the landscape by erecting chinese kiosques and gothic turrets. The trees, whose greenness so well eclosed the whiteness of the waters, have disappeared under the axe and the body of water itself has visibly diminished due to water the owners of factories use to turn the wheels of their machines.(3) It is good that man utilizes the immense force of the water, but, not when in its management the beauty of the place is not respected.

This corruption of taste which has damaged the most beautiful landscape and whose origin is rooted in ignorance and vanity is henceforth condemned. Human intelligence ought to look for beauty not in vain superficial imitations or in odd and false decorations but in the most intimate and deepest harmony that his work has with that of nature. Man who loves the earth knows that the issue is to preserve it, also to increase its beauty and to give back what has been taken from it by sheer brutal exploitation. Awar that his own interest is blended with the interests of the others, he repairs the damages committed by his prede-

cessors and he helps the earth, rather that brutally assaulting it, and works for the beautification as well as betterment of his environment. He knows, not only as an agriculturalist and industrialist, to make better use of the products and the forces of the globe but he also learns, as an artist, to give to the land that surrounds him more charm, grace and majesty; he knows to realize the landscapes suggested bythe painters(4). Becoming "the consciousness of the earth" man assumes, by the virtue of it, a responsibility to be in harmony with the surrounding nature.

The masses of slaves who tilled the soil, under the rough hand of the conquerors of Rome and during the painful times of the Middle Ages, could not have understood the beauty of the earth where they were living their miserable lives and any sentiment they would have had in relation to the surrounding landscape would have been perverted. The bitterness of existence was too acute for people to be able to indulge in the pleasure of admiring clouds, rocks and trees. Every where there was strife, hate, subjection to fears, wars and famine. The master's whim and cruelty were the law for the enslaved; foreigner and enemy were synonymous. In such a society all that a brave man could do, to fight against his destiny and preserve his awareness, was to be merry and ironic, to laugh at himself and above all at his master, but in no way could he be moved by the earth herself. The splendid features of the surrounding nature were to remain unknown to men who under the blow of a vague terror, carefully sustained by Wizards of all kinds, continued, in grottoes, empty roads, gorges of mountains, in the woods full of shadows and silence, to see shapeless ghosts and horrible monsters, at one and the same time, beasts and demons. What a strange idea of the earth and its beauty had the monks of the Middle Ages when in their geographical maps of distant countries, besides the names of the countries, they used to draw animals vomiting fire, men with hooves of horses or tails of fish, dogs with heads of rams or oxen, flying mandrakes and decapitated bodies with big wild eyes on their chests.

Out of the endless wars of the Middle Ages those who had escaped the struggle wanted to have a charming and sheltered little nest; great nature frightened them and they wanted peace. The ideal of the generations that followed, from the Renaissance to the Revolution, was expressed by the sites which princes and seigneurs chose to build their castles of pleasure. Only a very small number of those palaces occupied a position where one could gaze at a grandiose horizon of mountains and rocks; also in many environments, especially on the shores of Lake Geneva,

the country houses built by most rich riparian owners had their backs to, what now seems, the most spectacular views. Rather than a mighty and untamed nature, man, at that time, preferred a limited space where the imagination expands at its ease, when a curtain of hills blend softly, a small river winds under the shadows of alders and aspens with beautiful footpaths of bushy trees, lawns, and ponds decorated with statues. Grace was preferred to the stark greatness of grandiose and vast horizons.

People who, by virtue of their civilization, are placed in the avant-garde of humanity have, in general, little preoccupation with the embellishment of nature. They are more industrialists than artists and prefer force to beauty. Man wants, above all, to adapt the earth to his needs, to own it completely for the sake of exploiting its vast richness. He covers it with a net of roads, railways and telegraph lines; fertilizes deserts and tames rivers; pulverizes hills to extend the alluvia of the planes, tunnels into the Alps and the Andes; connects the Red Sea with the Mediterranean and is preparing to mix the waters of the Pacific with the Antilles Sea. Virtually all men, both actors and witnesses in this great undertaking, get carried away by the work and dream of nothing less than of moulding the earth acccording to their own image. Nonetheless, if man wants to, he is capable of managing the surface of the earth perfectly well and of preserving the grace of its landscapes. Nature remains beautiful when an intelligent farmer stops imposing inappropriate plants on unknown soils and instead realizes that the earth, rather than being raped, needs to be consulted about her tastes and preferences before mankind attempts to impose his own.

Thus the "Shakers" of the United States, for whom work in the fields is a "ceremony of love", who made it a duty to cherish growing trees, to cherish the seeds which they put in the furrows and to cherish the brooks they directed, succeeded in transforming into a real paradise their lands in Mount Lebanon, in Hancok and in Water-Vliet. (5) In the state of New Jersey the inhabitants of Vineland district came to a common agreement to get rid of the barriers among their gardens, orchards and groves in order to enjoy the charm of the earth they cultivated. In England, a country where farmers know how to produce abundant crops in their fields, the people have always had more respect for trees than in the so-called Latin countries: there are few sites that do not have a certain grace or even a veritable beauty because of the big isolated oaks displaying their branches above the grass or because of clusters of various trees artistically dotted around the towns and castles; their meadows, it is said, appear to have received the last touch

of the brush of the artist rather than the scythe of the peasant. The art of man, whatever some morose spirits may think, has the power to embelish untrammelled nature giving her the charms of perspective and variety and, above all, harmonizing her with the inner feelings of those who inhabit her. In Switzerland, on the shores of some big lakes in front of the azure mountains and sparkling glaciers, many chalets and towns with their lawns, clusters of flowers and shady footpaths make nature even more beautiful that charm the traveller like sweet dream of happiness.

Nowdays, the intellectual emancipation that science provides us with, the spread of the love of freedom, the feeling of solidarity which penetrates us often without our knowledge and our understanding that the earth belongs to all, have particularly enlarged our horizones. At the same time travelling reveals more and more the beauty of the earth and the harmony of its forces. For some years now there appears to be an earnest feeling of love that binds men, of both science and arts, to nature. Travellers swarm in all countries that are of easy access and are remarkable for the beauty of their sites and the charm of their climates. Many painters, designers, cameramen traverse the world from the shore of Yang-Tse-Kiang to the rivers of the Amazon. They study the various aspects of the earth, the sea and the forest and reveal to us all the magnificence of the planet we live on and, by most intimate associations with nature and by artistic works due to these travellings, all cultured men come to realize the different features and physionomy of the various countries of the world. Less numerous than the artists, but more useful in their work of exploration, are the scholars who have turned to nomadic life and for whom the earth is their laboratory. It was when travelling from the Andes to Altai that Humbold composed his admirable Tables of Nature, as he himself said:"to those who for the love of liberty can tear themselves from the tempestuous waves of life."

Henceforth, thanks to travelling, it will be the planet which will enoble the tastes of its inhabitants and will provide an understanding of what is truly beautiful. Those who traverse the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Himalaya or only high cliffs along the oceans; those who visit the virgin forest or contemplate volcanic craters, learn by these magnificent pictures to grasp the true meaning of the beauty of less striking landscapes and may learn that if they have the power to modify such landscapes, to touch them respectfully should they do so. It is, therefore, with joy that we greet these generous passions which lead many

men and, may we say, the best to travel in virgin forests, sea shores, mountain gorges and to visit many regions of the world where nature has preserved its primordial beauty. One knows that unless one is to risk intellectual and moral belittlement one must counter-balance at all cost, by keeping in sight the great stages of the earth, the vulgarity of the many ugly and mediocre things which narrow-minded spirits see as evidence of modern civilization. It is necessary that the direct study of nature and examination of its phenomena become one of the basic elements of education for all men of integrity; it is also necessary to develop in each individual the skill and physical strength to enable him to climb the summits with joy, to look at the abysses without fear and to preserve in all his being that equalibrium of forces without which he will never be able to perceive the most beautiful sites other than through the veil of sadness and melancholy. Modern man has to combine in his person all the virtues of those who have preceded him on the earth without giving up the immenxe privileges which civilization has conferred upon him. He should no longer lose any part of his ancient force and no longer let himself be bypassed by any savage in vigour,skill and understanding of natural phenomena.

In the great times of the Greek Republics the Hellenics aimed at making heroes of their children through grace, strength and courage; equally modern society, by fostering vigorous traits in its younger generations, by leading them back to nature and putting them in touch with it can regenerate the race itself and save modern society from decadence.

This worthy education will develop an awareness of nature and all its greatness. One is corrupted by routine and servitude, it is by knowledge and freedom that man will be regenerated. Science, which is slowly transforming the planet into a boundless body working ceaselessly for the benefit of humanity by its winds, currents, water vapour, electric power such as dreamt by the poets of all ages. However, if science shows us a future image of a transfigured world it is not only science which can accomplish such a great work. To the progress of knowledge ought to correspond the moral progress. So long as men fight to remove hereditary boundaries and fictitious frontiers among people; so long as the nutritive soil is reddened by the blood of crazy wretches who fight ruthlessly for a strip of territory either for the sake of pretended honour or from pure rage as did the barbarians of old days; so long as the hungry search fruitlessly for their daily bread and spiritual food - the earth will never be the paradise already glimpsed by the visionary searcher. The features of the planet will never be in complete harmony if people

are not basically united in a concert with justice and peace. To become truly beautiful the "Beneficient Mother" waits for her children to embrace one another and finally build the great federation of free people.

1. Georges Perrot, Tour du monde,No439, 1870
2. Meyer, Die schone Gartenkunst.
3. Marcou,Bulletin de la Societe de Geologie.
4. Henri Brissac, Esprit nouveau dans l'humanite.
5. Hepworth Dixon, New America.

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POLISH ANARCHISM

History of new wave of anarchism in Poland started with forming of "Solidarity" - a trade union of anarchosyndicalist nature. During the 1980-1981 rebellion "Solidarity" propagated ideas of self-governments at factories, schools and in local communities, proposed forming of cooperatives, associations and federations. Unfortunately, today's red-taped "Solidarity" has nothing to do with the legendary trade union from the times of great rebellion against the totalitarian state, communist dictatorship and all-embracing corrupted bureaucracy.

The next stage of anarchism in Poland is connected with the "Alternative Society Movement" (Ruch Spoleczenstwa Alternatywnego - RSA) which was formed by a group of anarchists from Gdansk in June 1983. RSA stood in a double opposition to the ruling communist party dictatorship as well as to majority of oppositional forces which were connected with the Catholic Church and national movements and organisations. In summer of 1983 Gdansk anarchists, also involved in activities of TOTART, WiP and RSA, took the initiative of forming special network of contacts - so called "Anarchist Intercity" (Miedzymiastowka Anarchistyczna - MA) which was to enable distribution of papers and handbills, exchange of information and ideas. In future, MA was to be transformed into a federation. This took place during the anarchist conference in June 1989. Although MA generally integrated groups and individuals identifying themselves with anarchism, it was strongly connected with subculture so people who wanted to act "more politically" decided to create new federation to take up social and economic problems. In this way "Anarchist Federation" (Federacja Anarchistyczna) was brought into being during the last national conference in November 1989. Next to the federation most anarchists are involved in other activities (sometimes even not strictly anarchist ones) like WiP (Freedom and Peace), PPS-RD (Polish Socialist Party - Democratic Revolution) and ecological and animal liberation movements. Anarchists organize and participate in such initiatives like protests against Soviet military presence in Poland, boycott of military schooling at high schools and universities, actions for abolition of compulsory military service, actions on behalf of deserters and better conditions of civil service for objectors, numerous actions connected with the protection of natural environment, against construction of nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, against bloody sport-

hunting, actions promoting self-governments at schools, factories and in local communities, actions against passport restrictions for activist of alternative movements, etc.

What anarchists in Poland find very important are ideas of self-managed society elaborated by Edward Abramowski (1868-1918) who is considered to be the biggest Polish theorist of anarchism (he propagated idea of mass denying the state by means of boycott of authority and offic institutions and wrenching out as many spheres of social life from under the control of state as possible. This was to be achieved by self organizing of society in order to create the Commonwealth of Cooperatives).

DECLARATION ISSUED AFTER THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION (11-12th Dec.1989).

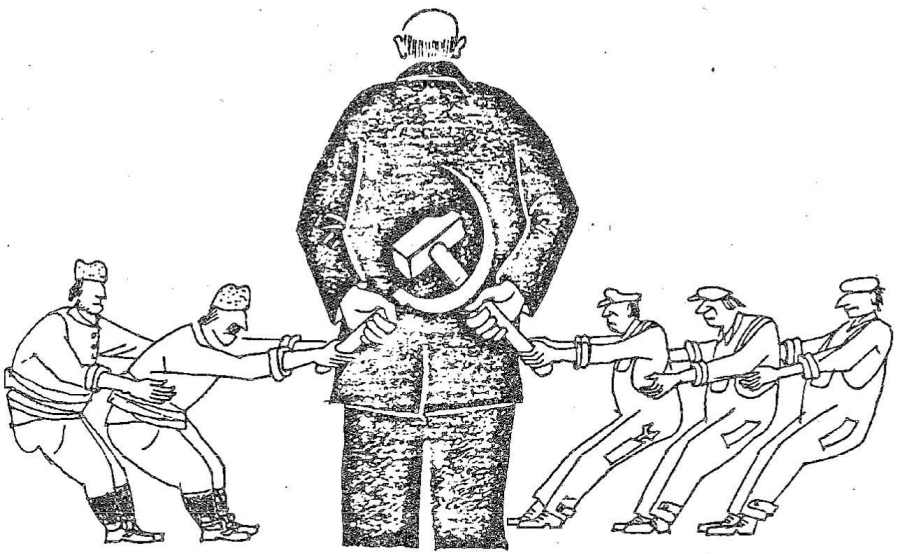
We struggle to create anarchist society which is the one based on social justice and common ownership of means of production, society in which absolute freedom would be limited by natural norms only, with peaceful co-existence and exclusion of exploitation being a priority. We aim to create autonomous unions, syndicates, local self-managed societies and communities forming regional and country-wide federations. This kind of social order is to be based on mass, direct and decentralised democracy where no division into ruling and ruled ones would be acceptable. This specific kind of democracy can be achieved by making the most of audiovisual media as well as by means of mass meetings, gatherings and popular congresses.

We struggle to abolish authoritarian, consumption-oriented and repressive culture of today's society, in which individual is but a small part of monstrous social and economic megamachine, while his needs and aspirations are inevitably reduced to consumption of goods. Anarchism means also a fundamental change in human's behaviour and morality resulting in liberation of sexual life from all kinds of limits and conventionalities.

We reject both capitalism and bolshevik commmunism as these systems are based primarily on exploitation, constraint and social injustice. That is why we protest against the policy of "Solidarity" and the present government of T.Mazowiecki both aiming at the restauration of capitalism in Poland. This policy is an evident treason against the ideals of "Self-Managed Commonwealth" accepted in 198[?]

by the First National Conference of Delegates of "Solidarity" and can only effect in turning the country into a colony for a foreign capital. We protest against reprivatisation of common property, against further division of society into the very rich and the very poor ones and also against planning and legalizing of mass unemployment. We disagree with government's project of submitting the country to the International Monetary Fund's dictatorship - as this organisation is a personification of international capitalism - and protest against the maintenance of relicts of communist rule as the price for sharing power.

The society must defend itself against the pauperisation and exploitation. The only way to make this most effective is to propagate and organise mass social self-defence actions. We should not be fooled by the campaign of deluding the society which is constantly lead by "Solidarity", government, "Polish United Workers Party" and the Catholic Church.



ANARCHISM

There have been many attempts to redefine anarchism, to modernize it, to make it adaptable to modern reality and acceptable for the palate of the people. All these undertakings are a sign of the confusion about anarchism and its relevance to present day social issues, as well as an insinuation that anarchism, as we know it, is outdated if not obsolete. Such tendencies are a result of our presentday cynical, sceptical age. It is not anarchism that needs revising but the subject revising it. Anarchism has more relevance today since the climate is more propitious than yesterday. Today democracy is bankrupt and socialism is in decomposition. It is not incidental that many leftists, who one cannot suspect of anarchist sympathies, as well as ecological and feminist movements, are inceasingly using an anarchist language to make their inroad into the social nexus. This in itself strengthens the case for anarchism.What I consider to be a weakness of anarchists, here and now, is their inability to formulate clearly their ideas and to narrow the gap between theory and reality. Instead they rationalize their egotrips and cravings for selfimportance. Anarchism is not a psychological methodology, even if it contains it, but rather a dynamic for social and personal changes.

Anarchy, in the conventional sense means CHAOS. Thus anarchy and chaos are interchangeable terms to the chagrin of many an anarchist. Yet in a spaciosocial sense these terms are identical. They refer to a cosmogony and a cosmography which negate a mode of perceiveing, conceptualizing and explicating the universe and the social realities as hierarchical in values, structures, properties and orientation. The idealistic cosmogony recognizes the precedence of chaos. Order is chaos interfered with, chaos subjugated to the will of a god. Since order inserted power relationship, verticalism and dogma it had generated violence to ensure its domination. Chaos thus became to Order what Satan was to God: its negation. In the struggle that ensued Chaos and Satan were the implacable enemies of God and

Order. Thus they acquired their sinister significance as rebels against a philosophy and praxis that tried to implement a pattern of thinking and practice both hierarchical and exploitative. For Order, other forms of organizations were social deviations, behavioural aberrations, satanic cults or a mere sickness of the social body. Obviously, then, to CHAOS are ascribed attributes which are a direct negation of the established vertical, authoritarian principle of organization and hierarchical evaluation of thought, action and praxis. It is precisely at this point that we have to look for significance of CHAOSANARCHY.

In the physical world Chaos is the primordial matter of which the various patterns of the universe are made. In a socio sense it is the horizontal model of social intercourse, the canvass on which multiformity and diversion are blooming. It was within chaos that the divine intelligence could express itself and establish its hierarchical order by putting the word into chaos. In so doing it perverted chaos into a hierarchical organization and legitimized the dominant role of the privileged and the priestly caste and authorized slavery. By postulating The Word as a concept above matter, above chaos, religion and idealistic philosophy have established the rule of the intellect and posit consciousness outside of matter. Within the topography of such an order the masses qua masses lack intelligence and intellectual propensities and, therefore, if any consciousness is plausible it has to be imported from outside: from the intelligentsia. Otherwise the masses remain the formless material, chaotic subconscious state, cathectic to intellectuals.

The argument that Chaos lacks intelligence and organization is a well-devised theological and political lie of rulers and interested parties, mundane and priestly, socialist and bourgeois, to control society. In the physical as well as the social realm there is no mass without organization. The question is, at least as far as we are concerned, what kind of organization, what kind of intelligence? The myth of creation is to legitimize hierarchy by denigrating Chaos. The function of intelligence in this kind of order is to minimize the creative principle of life, CHAOS, to make it fit the rational instrumentality of abstractions, such as the state, religion, country and parties, and to serve those who dominate and rule over the others. It is within such a context that Anarchy acquires its proper meaning. It negates Archy, the principle of authority, the supreme intelligence and its order of hierarchy, which denies consciousness to the masses, the subjects-objects and legitimizes domination, oppression and exploitation of human by human. ANARCHY IS, THEREFORE, CHAOS.

It is dysfunctional to norms established by well-to-do governments, moralists, politicians and would be governments. As such it cannot tolerate impositions and authoritarian forms of organization and precisely because of that it needs freedom to assert itself as a principle of organization, as a social and political force. Perhaps now it is clear why anarchism-chaos is seen as undesirable, why it is an evil as far as any dominant morality is concerned and why it is anathema to all politics and game playing.

Well, after this short venture into Anarchy as chaos, let us define "Anarchy". Anarchy simply denotes no government, no rulers. By this definition it puts itself outside of any Archy, socialist, bourgeois or democratic. By virtue of it, it is the only alternative to ARCHY, the only socio--political movement to seriously look at human enslavement and to propose a radical eradication of it. But by putting itself outside of the established possibilities, it becomes difficult to the conventional mentality, determined by a variety of archies and hierarchical imageries, to grasp its meaning. The mere fact that anarchist significance is outside established images and that it has no hagiology is of little help to understanding and to grasping Anarchism as an idea.

The anarchist, being a pitiless iconoclast, rejects all authoritarian images, the fetishism of reified society. Here anarchism enters the problematic and the paradox. How can one live without images: mothers, fathers, gods, masters etc? Life would seem a homeless world without the t.v. spectacle projecting powerful and desirable images manipulated to satisfy the sense experiences of isolated individuals. A world without stars and zodiacs is intolerably cold. The poverty of the intellect and of emotional void both demand and strive on distorted illusions. To surround oneself with pleiads of images and to play one against the other, as a signification of liberation, leads to elicit alienated individuals, the objectification of the subject and to the accentuation of heteronomy. The individual is confined within the precinct of authoritarian relationships.

God continues to be our father - despite feminist outrage. The church our mother - even if spiritually transformed into the goddess of the woods. These two entities coalesce in a single aim: to castrate their own children so that the latter become subservient to them. Psychologically impotent, lacking intellectual vision and analytical minds, the children search for and succumb to symbols and images, heavenly or earthly, personal or social, astral or spiritual, to fill the gap their mechanical banal exist-

ence creates, that is,trying to give meaning to a meaningless existence. If they rebel against the authority of their parents, their rebellion is rooted in the search for other authoritarian images, even if they try to eliminate personal and social suffering and pains for good. Liberation without conventional symbols is unintelligible for them. Here the iconoclast -the anarchist- is bedevilled by an inability to communicate. His/her case seems doomed like the labour of Sysyphus.But in the world of despair there may be redeeming features: if one evokes the existential prpoposition that existence preceds essence, and by extension chaos precedes intelligence, the individual precedes society, then the individual becomes responsible for its own unbearable empirical reality. It is the subject acting upon itself and upon the object that can alter such a reality. The individual is responsible for his/her reality and it is he/she as a tangible social operative force that can change it. There is no hope in an universe eschatologically centered. And if there is a future to be forged this future depends on us as persons, as individuals and as an association of individuals.

Today the personal is becoming a battle cry and a hope of radical desire for many a man and woman. But its existential import is more often a refutation of equality and personal liberation. Personal liberation, the original goal of the alienated self, easily surrenders to its negation, that has engendered it, because of the exigence of reified being. Liberation cannot be achieved if subjective consciousness does not establish its grasp on the individual. This can be done if, and only if, humanity is restored, the subject enlightened and the object incorporated into the consciousness of the subject as an equal partner of personal and social becoming. Liberation that does not take into consideration the other is re-enacting the consciousness of a subject that suppresses the particularity of the object and sacrifices telos to immanent consideration: power, privileges and manipulation. Personal liberation thus turns into a myth of self-deception. If my freedom is not your freedom, if my emancipation is not your emancipation, but is experienced as a restriction of your freedom, if my superiority is your inferiority or vice versa, then personal liberation is only a confidence trick. Persons who deceive each other are not free despite claims to the contrary. They are actors in a dramma that makes an ideology the subject and its liberation. That is why anarchists stress the importance of the individual not in an abstract but in a real sense, not in legalistic but in social terms, not as an idea but as here and now being.

Those who think that groups, societies and movements have precedence over the individual are mistaken and fail to understand the movement of liberation, selfmanagement and autonomy. They fail to understand that the potentiality of human reconstruction is based in the individual her/himself. Not only that, consciously or not, they are its enemy. Those who want the individual to be absorbed by a group and not to have meaning outside of it, are participating in the death of the individual and, therefore, cannot claim anarchist authenticity. To mortify the individual and to deny the possibility of group being a vehicle of individual manifestation, is to lure the individual into the senile stillness of communism. People like that fit quite well into the Bolshevik ethos and are in line with people like Kollontai for whom "one has to merge one's will with the will of the collective body" which means the will of the individual or individuals who control the collective body.

Anarchists are in favour of groups, societies, collectives and communities provided that the latter are relative to the individual. They are aware that the individual poverty that a group, such as that of Kollontai, engenders is also social poverty. Those who gain out of indiviidual and social poverty are socialist falsificators for whom liberation is the merchandizing of the subject.

The anarchist stand against socialist dehumanization, brought the wrath of various authoritarian socialists for whom the state and the party were bodies enclosed in themselves while the individual was object of their appetite. What followed was cultural and economic poverty and individual and societal enslavement, and, as a consequence, the failure of socialism to be an alternative to capitalism. They failed to see that the death of the subject is also the death of the object, that a society of castrated individual is a castrated society.

There are some who will argue that the individual does not need society, as if their consciousness is fabricated outside of society. Consciousness is a social product, it is the formulation of the subject as separate and different from the social body. To be different from the other is to realize the subjectification of oneself. A society which does not encourage a process of individuation, that is, separation, is condemned to sterility. Individuals who profess not to owe anything to society forget that the language which they use to communicate and relate is a social product. This, in itself, falsifies their claims that they can exist without society. The nature of such claims is the narative of abstract individuals who adhere to the view that they are above the others whom they despise but, nonetheless, in the concrete world of reality, they

use their individual and collective labour for personal wealth. This kind of individualism, rugged and bourgeois, is not and cannot be identified with anarchist-individualism as I understand it, because their plea for emancipation is a farce and society they envisage, Simulacrum.

For the anarchist-individualist freedom and equality are necessary conditions for his/her existence. Society is percieved as an association of authentic individuals. The difference between bourgeois and anarchist individualism can, at the best, be summarized as follows: the former build walls round him/herself as a defence mechanism against the others and to assure his/her safety; while the latter tries to destroy the walls surrounding him/her to liberate the sensuous individual from the deadening implication of conventionality and to build a social experience where freedom and equality will highten the possibility of horizontal communications and spontaneity of expressions and relationships. For the anarchist, the individual is the beginning and an end of all political, social and economic relationships. It is on this base that they reject all social and personal impositions and restrictions which oppress and exploit the individual. Family is one of them.

The family is a bourgeois archetype. It is the graveyard of love, of affections and of noble sentiments. It is a miniature state where hierarchical arrangements and authoritarian values are produced and reproduced. It is a training school for master-slave relationships. It is not accidental that the Bolsheviks, who negated it at the inception of the revolution, soon re-instated it, in order to facilitate social control and to channel all revolutionary energies in the service of the Party and the State. The family, as a social institution reflects, creates transmits and reproduces individual and social oppression.

Here some digression is necessary. For many anarchists the family has a different connotation, and even if it is a misnomer it is worth mentioning it because anarchist literature has many references to it. They see the family as a relationship freely entered on the basis of personal equilibrium, equality and mutuality of interests. It is relative to the individual and can be dissolved at any time. Family is thus the converging point of subject/object situations, signifying the synthesis of two different worlds in a free-love relationship. Family is an oasis of freedom and meaningfulness in the world of alienated, dominant and possessive objects and authoritarian set ups.

It was the idea of free love that outraged the religious, as well as secular, powers, and also authoritarian social-

ists. The former considered it as an attack on decency, order and morality, a contrivance to subvert: the latter as a bourgeois manipulation, a deviationist tactic to hinder the revolution and to undermine the revolutionary ethos that was to capture, preserve and use the state as a vehicle of socialism. Both criticisms were correct.

lists. The former considered it as an atack on decency, order and morality, a contrivance to subvert: the latter as a bourgeois manipulation, a deviationist tactic to hinder the revolution and to undermine the revolutionary ethos that was to capture, preserve and use the state as a vehicle of socialism. Both criticisms were correct. On the one side to undermine the established order and its morality, not only by questioning it but by an alternative praxis outside the domain of the establishment, is a threat and an act of rebellion. On the other side, those for whom power to dominate is the sweet dream of their life, the submission of the others is an ought for its realization. Free love, thus, is a curse because it undermines the hierarchical mechanism and oppressive techniques of power structures and, in opposition to them, will tend to produce free and independent people, or, to use the party slogan "undisciplined people": the anarchists. The anarchists were left alone in the struggle for free love and radical equality and extended their criticism of family to society too.

Anarchists see society as an organic formation where people are linked together, bound by common interests, have mutual regards for each individuality, humanity and human dignity. It is a community of people who share similar beliefs, hopes, fears and knowledge in the interests of the community and for the benefit of individual actualization. The well being of such a society is not judged only by its material success but mostly by the extent to which the individual self-realization approximates the anarchist ideal. A community where the anarchist ideal is not wrought in action, where the individual is a mere replica of the other -be it sister or brother, when consensus is an ideology of sameness and where the individual is affraid to express a disagreement, is not an anarchist society. In such a society anarchism is not an operative force even if people refer to themselves as anarchists. It is the variety not the sameness, which makes a society vital, alive, dynamic and interesting.

The tendency towards sameness had given Sydney Libertarians, years back, the ammunitions to criticise the organic view of society. They argued this to be a)a naive social view and b)empirically false. From an empirical point of view the Libertarians are correct. The organic concept is borrowed from the biological sciences but the analogy is false because they are not identical. The components of a biological body have no separate individual awareness and consciousness whereas the social body is composed of separate beings each of whom, despite their communality, exhibits, to use a Sternian expression, uniqueness. Each

person is a unique individual and reducing him/her to a number of social statistics, while desirable from the point of social control, is a cultural and societal calamity.

The anarchists are not in a dispute with the Libertarians, but they insist that their organic society is not analogous to that of the biological sciences. The organic society, for anarchists, implies reciprocity, mutuality, equality, the meaningful microcosm. One of its prerequisites is freedom. Freedom is the air necessary for the particular, as well as the social, body to function properly. But even if freedom is necessary it is not sufficient, for a healthy social development, unless it is coupled with political-economic equality. Freedom without economic and social equality is only a bourgeois illusion, a myth, to support the domination of the rich and the fear of the poor. Economic equality without freedom is a social brutality, the reign of the strong and the exploitation of the weak. Freedom, economic and social equalities are organically related. Otherwise neither is society free nor is the individual independent. The anarchst organic concept implies that each person follows a particular path but contributes, according to his/her abilities, to the common wealth and has equal claims to it. The person is not alienated, his/her communality is not an abstraction but a fact, in the nexus of a given social intercourse.

Society is a tangible, feasible reality; the State -a metaphysical imposition. The State reduces the role of society to that of subservience and denies the creative individuality of its subjects. The State declares itself as the "Subject" that creates history; history which sacrifices the individual, society and the contingent, to the metaphysical. The more the individual loses his/her identity and society loses its independence, the stronger and more embracing the State becomes. It manifests its strength by various means: police, army, taxation, I.D.Cards, bureaucratization of the social existence and many other visible and invisible secret services. It absorbes, usurps and centralizes all social functions; emaciates society and de-personalizes the individual. These objectives of the State were forseen by the anarchists. As true socialists they anticipated that the subject of dialectical history, the proletarian State, has as an object the fragmentation of socialist reality and its final withering away or transubstantiation in its antinomy-capitalist economy and mentality. On this point the anarchists departed company with the Marxists and the rest of the socialists.

For Marx the Proletarian State is only a historical moment which after its fulfilment will wither away by virtue of being a transitory state, and open vast possibilities

for socialist imaginary significations. And history will leap, dialectically, from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. At this point the civil society will recuperate its lost ground and become functional to the now unfettered individual, the real subject of history. The State will end as an institution of administration.

Anarchists have remained aloof from Marxist metaphysics, necessities, inevitabilities and the rational state as an expression of the proletarian consciousness whose praxis will transcend traditional philosophy and the proletariat itself as a class. Ironically, the Marxist theory has been refuted by its own praxis. The state is not a historical moment but an instituion which tends to perpetuate itself at the expense of liberties, socialism and proletarian expresses,

ies. It is a bastion of privileges: capitalist, social-democratic, fascist and communist. In no way is the State a vehicle of socialism and freedom instead of a vehicle of deception, manipulation, domination and immiseration even if under the aegis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletarian dictatorship, besides being a misnomer, is a myth behind which lurks the iron fist of an oligarchic minority of prvileged party cadres and appartchiks. If "genuine proletarian dictatorship", as Korsh argues, is "distinguished from every false imitation of it by its creation of the conditions of intellectual freedom not only for all workers but for 'each individual' worker" then one may safely infer that such a proletarian state has never materialized, or that it has remained in the sphere of pure reason and ideas, whereas its authenticity is negated by the socialistic realistic praxis. Unfortunately, the State is and functions by the domination, exploitation, militarization and hierarchization of society. The State is not a historical moment, it does not wither away, perpetuates

Here comes a neuralgic point of a sensitive debate. Anarchists do not deny Marx' contribution to socialism. But they are not duped by his dialectics as a scientific method or his political philosophy as a method of liberation. Anarchists are far from being metaphysicians to reduce life to death schemes and to argue about the virtues and the vices of a classless and free society at the end of history. To suppress the function of civic society as a moment of history and to reduce the individual as an appendage of the State as a temporary measure is to end where the Marxists have endded:in the quagmire of socialist realism, the socialism of cemetries where the proletariat are

skeletons clasping bony hands, sniffing the opium of dialectics, dancing a tarantella to a Marxist-Leninist tune and waiting for the prophesy of the negation of the negation to eventuate. To work for the end of history, for the future generations, while forsaking pleasure and freedom here and now is an age-old trick to subject and manipulate the masses. Blessed are the meek, the poor and the slave because theirs is the kingdom of heaven. But meekness, poverty and slavery are not values to enhance human liberation. They may provide spiritual food for many Marxists-Leninists, avatars of a classless society, but the outcome is obvious, and more so recently: unadulterated bourgeois excrements. Excrements which corrupted socialism and led to its social decomposition. Socialism failed to materialize, but not nationalism nor that capitalist hybrid -the social democracy and the market economy.

For Marxists universals are more important that particulars. But while universals exist in pure reason, the person and the individual proletariat exist in a dirty, tangible and exploitative social reality. The universals are not exploited but the particulars are. To sacrifice the latter to the former is to use Procrustean measures to make the real fit the abstract, the body -the shadow, the reality -the essence. They tyrannize the real for the benefit of the myth. It is here that the drama of the proletariat has began. The proletariat has forsaken its real interests for abstract ones, forsaken material existence for the luxury of the sepulchre, and forsaken the earth for a socialist heaven. But the socialist heaven turned out to be, like all heavens, bliss for a few chosen commissars, bureaucrats and social democratic intelligentsia, and hell for the rest, including the "dominant" class, the proletariat.

And now there are some anarchists who try to tell me that Marxists and Anarchists would get married and live happily for ever. It means that one should kiss ones executioner and together sing an eulogy of life and happiness. Well, I lack such virtue and I am sorry that I cannot extend my solidarity to my executioner. By no means should this be interpreted as a statement that I cannot work with some Marxists on various issues. I have to emphasize that this is not a question of tolerance and a friendly chat but of putting the Marxists praxis in its historico-social perspective and seeing its implication in relation to anarchism.

In the Marxist praxis there has never been and never will be a place for anarchism. This is not because I desire so but because the Anarchists and Marxists subscribe to

two different theories that lead to two different practices. The Marxists, despite their revolutionary vocabulary, are not revolutionaries. They operate within bourgois possibilities: the Parliament, constitution, industrial development, economic growth, bureaucracy, police, army, the State. Instead liberating the lifeworld of the proletariat they use all these institution to codify it into capitalist commodities. By doing that they subject the life of the worker, in the name of historical necessity, in order that their telos-the Reason of the State- is realized. On the other hand, the Anarchists, being revolutionaries, are outside Marxist possibilities. Their meta-narrative is not to tame capitalism and domesticate the proletariat as a subject of the State, but to negate the former, and the latter, as vehicles of individual and societal autonomy and independence. The Anarchist scheme is not a mechanical one that divorses the consciousness of the proletariat from the proletariat itself. Therefore, anarchism cannot be reconciled with Marxism because the latter continues to operate within bourgeois possibilities and its revolutionary import is dubitable. A free society cannot be actualized by authoritarian and statist means. Those who think it can be, are not perceptive to the virtues of the Ancient Regeme not only to survive but to capture, twist, and use them and their consciousness for purposes contrary to the original claims, socialism. Also they remain blind to socialist realities, and,more specifically, to Marxists-Leninists malignant praxis. Marxism is a continuation and an affirmation of traditional bourgeois values and its social--ism is a bourgeois product under the veneer of socialism. Its assertiveness is negation of Anarchism. It tyrannizes the real to glorify a myth.

Surely, one may argue dialectically that "all that is real in the sphere of human history becomes irrational in the process of time". Actually it is already irrational by its destination "tainted beforehand with irrationality". But, it appears , that dialectics does not apply to Marxism. Neither its reality nor its destination have an element of irrationality. Perhaps Marxism is the ultimate reality, a reality without dialectics. In this case if the Left Hegelians have turned dialectics into the algebra of the revolution and transcended Hegel as an idealist, the modern Marxists have turned dialectics into the algebra of the counter revolution and transcended Marx as a materialist and revolutionary.

The algebra of the revolution has become a modern feminists' weapon in the struggle against men, who are thus reduced to algebraic numbers: an unfortunate approach by the gender that is trying to reclaim the personal. The

personal is translated into an ideology instead of an aim. More so with the feminist class analysis. Here woman as an individual is subordinated to woman as a class, the particular is absorbed by the universal and the personal integrated into the group. Class analysis is, perhaps, necessary to understand the plight of a woman but it is not sufficient to explain her being. Classes are economical, not psychological, categories. To translate them to the latter is to falsify their signification. It is one thing to destroy man as a class(the oppressor) but a different matter to eliminate him as a human being, as a person. The two cannot be equated. It they are the cause of emancipation , as well as of liberation, suffers. The Guillotine and hate have never produced equality at a personal, social or political level but have always re-enforced domination, slavery and hierarchies. The rejection by some feminists of knowledge, logic and reason falls into this category.

To argue, as some feminists do, that knowledge. logic and reason are masculine products and should never be used as tools of feminist emancipation, is to put forward a case against emancipation and, indirectly, to be supportive of established values.

Feminists sometimes argue that knowledge, reason and logic are tools of man's supremacy and that, therefore, destroying these tools will lead to the disappearance of man's supremacy. A classic case of confusing causation with co-relation. A second flaw in the argument is that of attributing to a tool the qualities of the user: a tool is neither male nor female; neither good or bad. Science is value-free, but scientists are not.

Knowledge, reason and logic are neither masculine nor feminine but are necessary instruments of dialogue and understanding, explicating and communicating. The absence of them among the oppressed is a factor of their oppression. It is a historical fact that those who refused to adopt them as tools of their liberation were sooner or later to become enslaved by those who possessed them. The fate of the proletariat in the socialist revolutions is a glaring example of this. Instead of arming itself with logic, knowledge and reason,the proletariat surrended them to his superior brothers, the avant-garde and ended in abject slavery postponing its liberation to the end of history. What a macabre circle! Down with the bourgeoisie, long live the bourgeoisie, yesterday red, tomorrow feminist. By arguing against the use of knowledge, logic and reason feminists are, no doubt unwittingly, arguing against emancipation.

Certainly, control of knowledge, reason and logic, like control of any social tool, can also be used for the oppo-

site purpose. Some feminists try to appropriate such control by trying to conquer the bastions that exercise control: the universities, other educational institutions and the State. Here two answers are plausible: either the sisters think that to destroy male supremacy is to capture his tools and turn them against man, a view that fails to grasp the inner logic of institutions to reproduce themselves; or they use feminism as an ideology, as a cover to reverse patriarchy into matriarchy and then turn brothers' oligarchy into femo-oligarchy and male mono-archy into femo-arcy and finally by various devious ways to establish sororit-o-cracy.

Those who argue that knowledge, reason and logic can not be weapons of emancipation should look closely at history and myth. Is it not indicative that the most onmipotent patriarch in the Christian myth, God, has forbiden the tree of knowledge to man and has kicked Satan, the light, out of heaven so that he can assure for himself a complete and permanent dictatorship over the universe! Has ever any government encouraged an open society, diffusion of knowledge and information? If it did why so many files and controls over the cit izen and the mushrooming of security services and tactical response forces? They are fully aware that knowledge breeds independence, whilst ignorance breeds slavery. Therefore, for the slaves to escape their predicament, knowledge, reason and logic are a must. Otherwise the free individual and free society will be only mirages populatiing the desert of our existence enmeshed in the occult.

Some anarchist groups are seriously into the occult. They think that the earthly paradise, emancipation and equality can be attained by touching each other, holding hands in Reichean sense, chanting, using body language to communicate organically, group therapy and sex ect where one is nameless, the individual effaced and the person depersonalized. This is the paradise of the dead souls who find equality in nothingness, individuality in uniformity and anarchism in "transcendental self-attention" or some kind of spiritual trance.

As an anarchist, on the side of life and freedom, reject the egalitarianism of the death instinct and, as well, equality in a cemetry. I earnestly assert that we need knowledge to grasp the real gist of oppression, to perceive the visible and invisible chains of our own slavery; we need reason to see through the game of ideologie that cloud our existence. We need reason, logic and knowledge to assert and control our daily life, to reformulate the formula of our liberation and to accomplish our revolu

tionary assertions. The earthly paradise or human utopia of equality cannot be attained by emotional outburst, by turning the individual into a commodity and substituting slogans for thinking. It cannot be built by dehumanization, by using others as a vehicle of our interests or by ideological nonsense. If feminism, anarchism and a free society are not based, here and now, on the understanding of the other, of the exploited, but are based on hate and denigration of the other, it will be the bourgeois individualist and small elitist groups, that will be asserting themselves. In this case control of logic, knowledge and reason are instruments to manipulate sisters and brothers who are the material on which power is built. Perhaps the fashion and label of slavery will have changed but nontheless it is still slavery. In the final analysis, instead of affirming the personal we negate it. The personal cannot be based on dependency syndrome be it economical, emotional or intellectual. It must be based on the ability to filtrate all available intellectual, emotional and empirical facts through his/her own seive without the chemicals of ideology, of orthodoxy and authoritarian directives. The personal osmosis is the feature of one's own becoming and the realization of one's own autonomy. Those who borrow ideas without thinking, without reasoning, without analytic and rational approach are taking them on authority and faith. Therefore they are acting as vehicle of the will of the others. How can one acquire consciousness if he or she is a reflection of others? A person who has no sharp consciousness of his/-her own personality is a flat, dull and charcterless being rather than a revolutionary being. She/he will not radiate the hopes of emancipation and liberation but the gloom of Cimmerian culture.

In conclusion I will say that an anarchist is a person who refuses to accept bourgeois possibilities, but the fact that s/he lives and operates within such possibilities makes his/her life very difficult and at the same time the revolution a distant possibility. Nonetheless, his/her rebellion, a conscious act, can be expressed , here and now, at various levels and in different contexts, in spite of the bourgeois order, relationships and morals. Anarchism is not an entity but an orientation towards such an entity. Those who cherish it and long for its realization cannot expropriate the reality of the individual and his/her sensibilities and substitute for it commodities, slogans and submission to categorical imperatives. Anarchism is not a movement trying to create groups, societies, communities or terrestial cities without windows, without doors and without hopes where people are happy in their misery, intellegent in their ignorance and Cimmerian in their existence. Anarchism is not the great Architect to build edifice of conceptual thought and then force facts into reality to verify it. Those who do not understand that will never understand anarchism.